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UPON THE
PAPERS
WHICH
Mr. *Rookwood* and Mr. *Lowick*
Deliver'd to the
SHERIFFS
At the time of their Execution, *April* 29. 1696.

TOGETHER WITH
REMARKS
Upon ſome part of
Mr. *Cranburn*'s Diſcourſe
With the SHERIFFS at the ſame time.

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Which Mr. *ROOKWOOD* and Mr. *LOWICK* delivered to the Sheriffs at the time of their Execution, *April* 29. 1696. Together with Remarks upon ſome part of Mr. CRANBURN's Diſcourſe with the Sheriffs at the ſame time.

THERE is uſually more than ordinary regard had to Declarations made by perſons neer their death; upon this preſumption, that their Minds being leſs concerned for the Affairs and Intereſt of this World, which they are ſoon to leave, and more affected with the ſenſe of Gods impartial Judgment to which they are going, they will then declare the truth of whatever they pretend to ſpeak about, fully and ingenuouſly, without any reſervation or diſguiſe.

But in theſe Papers, there are ſuch evident marks of care not to ſpeak clearly or diſtinctly, and ſuch plain endeavours to ſerve the Intereſts of a Party, that we deſerve to be deceiv'd, if we pay them any other regard than what upon a ſtrict Examination ſhall appear to be due to them.

Mr. Rookwood's *Paper.*

It is evident that the Paper which he deliver'd to the Sheriffs was not of his own drawing: for (as I have been credibly inform'd) he was ſeen to tranſcribe it from a Draught which was not of his own Hand-writing; and ſuch a Draught was afterward found by the Executioner in his Pocket, and deliver'd by him to Mr. Sheriff *Buckingham*, who has it now in his Poſſeſſion.

Whether therefore the Contents thereof are to be regarded as the Natural Senſe of one in expectation of Death, or rather as the artificial Contrivance of a Director, who was to ſerve his Cauſe and Party by whatever Credit the Words of a dying Man might obtain, muſt be left to the Conſideration and Judgment of the Reader.

He begins with great aſſurance of the juſtice of his Cauſe, as appears by his committing it to the cognizance of God, without deſiring any mercy or pardon for *that*, but affirming it to be a juſt Cauſe.

Now

Now conſidering what the Cauſe was for which he came to die, that it was for having engaged himſelf in that execrable deſign of the Aſſaſſination; that he ſhould think to juſtifie this at his appearing before the Judgment-ſeat of God; if this were his own thought, ſhews the deſperate ſtupidity of his conſcience. But if, as I rather believe, he only tranſcribed the words of his Director, it argues the madneſs of that profligate Wretch, that for any Cauſe whatſoever durſt put ſuch words upon a dying Man as could not but hazard his Salvation.

Firſt he makes him declare that he chang'd his reſolution of dying in ſilence, being moved by thoughts of his duty to others, and *chiefly* to the late King *James*. And it appears by what follows, that the ſervice intended to be done *Him* by the Paper, is, to clear him from all ſuſpicion of his having been privy to the Aſſaſſination. We are therefore chiefly to obſerve, whether what he offers for that purpoſe be ſufficient.

I do, ſaith he, *with all Truth and Sincerity declare, and avow, that I never knew, ſaw, or heard of any Order or Commiſſion from King* James, *for the Aſſaſſinating the Prince of* Orange, *and attacking his Guards.*

Here he ſeems to clear King *James* of having any thing to do in this Matter, and yet does not clear him of that with which he is principally charged. For it is not ſaid in any of the Trials that there was a Commiſſion in thoſe very Words. All that the Witneſſes have depoſed, is, concerning a Commiſſion *to levy War upon*

upon the Perſon *of the Prince of* Orange, and that is not deny'd in this Paper.

But here Mr. *Rookwood* is brought to declare that he *never knew of any Order or Commiſſion* from King *James* for theſe Purpoſes. For the Commiſſion we ſhall ſee afterwards. But did not he know *of any Order?* could he ſay this *with all truth and Sincerity?* Yes, he *avows* this according to his Paper. And yet the contrary can be prov'd beyond all contradiction. It can be prov'd that with the late King's Order or Leave he came from his Quarters at *Eſdan* to St. *Germains* in the middle of *January* laſt. The firſt Day he came thither, after he had been at the King's Dinner, he was becken'd by him into the Queens Bed-Chamber. There King *James* told him he muſt go for *England*, and there follow the Directions of Sir *George Barkclay*. Accordingly he came hither, and was in *London* at the Time when King *James* came to *Calais*. No doubt his coming hither was for the doing of ſomething that might facilitate the then-intended Invaſion. But what he was to do, King *James* had order'd him to know from Sir *George Barclay*; and the ſame Order he gave to ſeveral others at that time, as we are inform'd by ſome of their Depoſitions.

Mr. *Harris* declar'd that the late King at St. *Germains*, gave to himſelf and Mr. *Hare* the ſham Names by which they went at their return to *England*, and told them they were to go by thoſe Names. He alſo told them the Times when, and the Place where they were to find Sir *George Barclay*, and by what Sign they ſhould know him; and bid them take their Orders from him. Now all

all the Orders that Sir *George* gave them were relating to the Aſſaſſination. And, as Mr. *Porter* depos'd, when in Converſation Mr. *Rookwood* expreſs'd his Diſlike of it, Sir *George* told them *they ought to obey his Orders, for he had ſuch a Commiſſion for ſuch a thing.* And, indeed, if one conſiders the Obſcurity of Sir *George*'s Character, that he hath no great Intereſt in his own Country, and is not much known in *England*; it can hardly be thought probable that he ſhould be choſen to head a general Inſurrection; but he was very fit to head a Party of Aſſaſſins. And that Mr. *Rookwood* himſelf thought that Sir *George*, in Vertue of his Commiſſion from the Late King, had Authority to oblige him to aſſiſt in the Aſſaſſination, beſides what has been prov'd of it already, will appear yet farther when we come to conſider what he ſaith concerning himſelf.

The Paper goes on—*But I am certainly inform'd, that he, the Beſt of Kings, had often rejected Propoſals of that Nature, when made unto him.*

It's very probable Propoſals of this Nature have been often made and rejected, becauſe they were made at times when the *French* Forces were not in readineſs to give effectual Aſſiſtance for the Reſtauration of the late King. But we cannot but remember the Caſe of *Granval*, about the time of the *la Hogue* Buſineſs; and how when the *French* thought themſelves in readineſs, a Deſign of this Nature was not rejected, but encouraged, and was very near ſucceeding. And it may be obſerv'd that ſome of thoſe who had propos'd it formerly when it was rejected, were engag'd in it now, and

and in hope of great Advancement if it had ſucceeded; which ſhows that, in their Opinion, it was not diſlik'd as Villanous or Diſhonourable, though it was for the preſent rejected as Imprudent, becauſe Matters were not ripe for it.

Paper. *Nor do I think he knew the leaſt of the particular Deſign of attacking the Guards at his Landing.*

This is only the Speech-maker's Thought, or rather what he would have others think of the Matter. But can any one imagine this to be true? the Duke of *Berwick* having been ſo lately here to be inform'd, and to carry Intelligence of the Poſture of their Affairs? Or could Mr. *Rookwood* be of this Opinion after he had received his *Directions* from Sir *George Barclay*, by Order from K. *James* his own Mouth.

But herein he followeth his Copy, which after the purging of King *James*, brings him next to ſpeak for himſelf. And thus he ſays,

That much againſt his Judgment he was engag'd as a Soldier by his immediate Commander whom he was to obey. That he hath ſerv'd his true King and Maſter for theſe twelve Years, and now freely lays down his Life for his Cauſe. That he ever abhorred Treachery even to an Enemy. That if it be a Guilt to have complied with what he thought, and ſtill thinks, to have been his Duty, he is Guilty, but owns no other Guilt.

As

As to his abhorrence of Treachery, and being engag'd againſt his Judgment; there appeared Signs of it in the Evidence that was given againſt him at his Tryal. Mr. *Porter* declared he had heard him ſay, *He believed it a very deſperate thing, and that he was not very willing to engage in it.* And Mr. *Harris, That he own'd it was a barbarous thing; and that if he had known of it before he came over, he ſhould have begg'd the King's Pardon at St.* Germains, *and not have come over hither.* And as was mentioned before, he declar'd his diſlike of it, 'till Sir *George Barclay* told him, *He ought to obey his Orders, for he had ſuch a Commiſſion for ſuch a thing.*

But all this ſhews, that at that time he did not queſtion the late King's knowledge of the Deſign: becauſe it is clear that he engaged in it purely in Obedience and Duty to him; and that he thought Sir *George Barclay*'s Commiſſion of ſufficient validity, not only to authorize and juſtify the Aſſaſſination, but even to oblige him to the Service againſt his own Judgment concerning the indiſcretion or barbarity of the Attempt; for now by reaſon of that Commiſſion, he ſhould act as a Souldier and not as an Aſſaſſine.

In this concluding Paragraph he complains of the King, whom he calls the *Prince* of *Orange*, that, *as a Souldier*, he did not conſider his Caſe before he ſign'd the Warrant for his Execution.

His Caſe, as a Souldier, might have been conſider'd if he had been found in a Souldier-like Action or Deſign. But he was Convicted and Condemned as guilty of a Deſign to Aſſaſſinate. Would the *French* King conſider

any Man *as a Souldier*, that ſhould be convicted of deſigning the like Attempt againſt himſelf? Or ſhould our King, that is a Souldier himſelf, ſpare Men of that Profeſſion, when they leave it, and turn to be Aſſaſſins? Or ſhould he think them the leſs Villains, becauſe the Life they would attempt, is that which he ſo freely expoſes for the Common Preſervation?

But how could theſe Men think that they acted like Souldiers in this, unleſs it were becauſe they had a Commiſſion for what they went about? And what was it? A Commiſſion *to levy War againſt* His Majeſty's *Perſon*, which they could not but know was a civil word for Aſſaſſination.

It is true, indeed, that Mr. *Rookwood* had this more to ſay for himſelf; that *he was engaged as a Souldier by his immediate Commander* whom he ought to obey. But the Service in which he was employ'd, he confeſt was *againſt his own Judgment*. So much his Speech-maker has done him the right to let him ſay. But does he act like a Souldier that goes to kill a Man againſt his own Judgment? And to do it in that baſe manner of Murdering one in his Coach. Thus they would have kill'd him under whom their Lives were ſafe, while they conſpir'd to take away his: whoſoever does this, ſhould not complain that he is *not conſider'd as a Souldier*.

The laſt words of this Paper are all Untruth and Revenge, and on both accounts very unbecoming the Condition of a dying Man. Inſtead of putting Prayers in his Mouth for himſelf, the Speech-maker makes him give the King a parting Blow. He charges him as *Guilty of much Blood*

Blood crying out againſt him from all parts; and gives him an intimation of a heavier Execution hanging over his Head, than what is now inflicted on the Aſſaſſines.

If by the *much Blood* he meant that which the War occaſions the ſhedding of, he ſhould have conſidered better to whom the guilt of that Blood is to be imputed; whether to the Defender of the Liberties of *Europe*, or to the great Invader of them. If he had regard to the Executions that have followed upon the Diſcovery of this Conſpiracy, he ſhould have compar'd what is now done, with what was done ſome years ago in the *Weſt*, by him whom he yet eſteems to be the *beſt of Kings*; and then inſtead of theſe bloody Words of His Majeſty, he would have acknowledged his Clemency in abating the rigor of the Law, even in the Execution of *Rookwood* himſelf and other of his Complices.

If by the heavier Execution hanging over the King's Head, he means Puniſhments from God, he is very bold in pretending to fore-tell what God will do; If he means ſome Execution to be inflicted by Men, we are to take it as an intimation of the Danger the King is ſtill in from that ſort of Men. For whenever Men of treaſonable Principles pretend to Prophecy, they truly tell us, what they deſign, and what they hope will ſome time or other be accompliſhed by Men of their Party.

Mr. Lowick's *Paper.*

I Shall take no notice of the devotional part of this Paper, nor of the Narrative, where he tell us he hath had the Honour to ſerve in ſeveral Commiſſions, *&c.* For dying Men are permitted to pray as they pleaſe, and to ſpeak as they pleaſe in their own Commendation. I ſhall only make ſome brief Remarks upon what relates to the Cauſe for which he ſuffered.

He ſaith, that, *As for being engaged in that for which he dyes, it was never ſo poſitive that he had a Horſe, or ſaw any allotted for him.*

This might be true, and yet no Argument of his Innocence, or Abatement of his Guilt; For ſeveral Horſes were provided by *Lewis*, *Parkins*, and Major *Holmes*, for the uſe of thoſe who never ſaw them. And if Mr. *Lowick* had now kept a Horſe, not having done ſo before, it might have given Suſpicion.

As to his denyal of his being to provide two Men for the Aſſaſſination, we muſt refer to the Evidence given againſt him at his Tryal.

He was not at any of their Meetings when they ſettled any ſuch thing.

This

This was the Caſe of many others; the preparatory Debates were very ſecret, and few admitted to them; but he was afterwards acquainted with the Reſolution, and complyed with it, as he confeſſed at the Place of Execution.

He denies his having ſeen any Order or Commiſſion from King James.

Nor was he charged with having ſeen it, for it was ſeen by very few.

I am confident none that know King James *will believe he would give any ſuch Order.*

If he means *an Order* in expreſs words to Aſſaſſinate; whatever other Thoughts we may have of the late King, we do not yet believe him to be ſo deſtitute of Underſtanding, as to have given *ſuch* an Order. But that Mr. *Lowick* himſelf did once think there were Orders to juſtifie the Attempt, is depos'd by Mr. *Harris* at *Rookwood*'s Tryal. *Being*, ſaith he, *in company with Mr.* Rookwood *and Mr.* Lowick, *I declared againſt the thing, as ſo barbarous, that no Man of Honour almoſt would be guilty of it: but Major* Lowick *anſwered, That we were to obey Orders, for ſure Sir* George Barclay *would not undertake a thing of that nature without Orders.*

They that do not know King *James*, and yet would be able to judge whether he be capable of a Deſign of this nature, may conſult a Book written with the Allowance of King *James*, and in many things from Informations given by that King himſelf; as appears by the Advertiſement

ment at the beginning of it. It is the Hiſtory of the Revolutions of *England*, by Father *D'Orleans* a Jeſuit, *Tom.* 3. *Lib.* 11. *Anno* 1685. Where he tells us that at King *James*'s coming to the Crown, the late Duke of *Monmouth* being then in *Holland*, that King *endeavoured to have had him privately ſeized and carried away* : ---*Entreprit de fair enlever ſecretment le Duc de Monmouth*, &c. This was before the Duke appear'd to be guilty of any Treaſon; and what was to have followed if they had ſeized him, we are left to gueſs. But the Prince of *Orange* (our preſent King) ſo diſliked the Enterpriſe, that he ſent the Duke notice of it, furniſh'd him with Money, and ſent him away to a ſafer Place. It is true this Inſtance comes not fully up to the preſent Caſe, but it is one Step in ſuch an ill way, and no Man goes all the Lengths of it at once.

But, to the greateſt part of the People of *England* King *James* was once well known, and I hope we do not eaſily forget what we then thought of him; ſince therefore the Paper appeals to what they will believe that know him, I ſhall alſo refer it to every Man to believe in this matter as he thinks there is cauſe.

In the next Paragraph, the *Major* tells us what he ſhould have been forward to do, if King *James* had landed; but that is nothing to the purpoſe for which he was condemned.

He adds, *He was never concerned in any bloody Affair in his Life; and that if killing the moſt miſerable Creature in the World (or greateſt Enemy) would now ſave his Life, reſtore the King, and make him one of the greateſt Men in* England, *he would firſt chuſe to die, becauſe againſt the Law of God.* And

And yet he was guilty of the Aſſaſſinating Deſign, as was fully proved againſt him at his Tryal, and confeſſed by himſelf at his Execution. Either therefore he muſt think the Aſſaſſination of the King, and the attacking of the Guards, not to be *Killing* and a *Bloody Affair*, becauſe intended and authoriſed by a Commiſſion for levying War: Or, when he wrote this Speech, there were thoſe with him that made no ſcruple of doing *Satan's* part in putting a Lie into the Mouth of a Man preparing for Death.

If any, who are now Sufferers on this Account, think I have been too forward, and a Promoter of this Deſign; I do now declare it was never my Inclination to do a raſh thing.

The Implication of this is, that he alſo was engaged againſt his Inclination, and in the ſame manner, I ſuppoſe, as we have ſeen *Rookwood* was. They both thought it a Raſh or Deſperate and Diſhonourable Enterpriſe; but believing that Sir *George Barclay* had orders for it, they thought it both Lawful and their Duty to obey him.

By ſuppoſing that ſome who *now ſuffer on this account* may have reaſon to reflect upon his Conduct, he ſufficiently intimates that ſome were drawn into the Buſineſs by his Means: and he plainly confeſſes it at his Execution, *In what I have done in drawing in any into the Deſign, I humbly beg their Pardon.* But how is this conſiſtent with what goes before in this Paper, where he diſowns that he ever *ſaw the two Men*, whom

it

it was ſworn *he was to provide, or had any on that account?*

This ſhews how little Regard is to be given to whatever is ſaid in theſe Papers, either in defence of the late King, or for the juſtification of their own Cauſe; for the plain Deſign of them is, not to declare the direct and open Truth; but to amuſe the Ignorant, and give Confidence to the Miſtaken; in a word, to ſerve the Intereſt of a Party.

Mr.

Mr. Cranburn's *Diſcourſe with the Sheriff at the Place of Execution.*

TO the Queſtion whether, if he had opportunity, he would have diſcovered the Plot? he anſwers,

He would never have diſcovered any Man. If he would have been an Informer, he might have been at Liberty about the Town as well as others.

This ſeems to inſinuate as if Endeavours had been uſed by the Government to bring him over to be an Evidence. But, if this were his Meaning, it is impudently falſe; and in the Nature of the thing very incredible, for what Information could he have given, if his own Account be true, *That he had notice of the Aſſaſſination on Saturday* Feb. 22. *between nine and ten*; or, as he varies his Account in another place, *between ten and eleven; and between eleven and twelve the time was over?* Others, who had been longer engaged, and more truſted, and underſtood better the Depth and Compaſs of the Deſign than this Man pretends to do; yet ſtopping ſhort of the whole Truth, obtained not ſuch Liberty. This therefore is a vain and idle Boaſt.

As to what he ſaith concerning his being a Member of the Church of *England*, and intimating as if the Doctrine thereof juſtified his Crime; as the latter of theſe two things is certainly falſe, ſo there is ſome reaſon to doubt whether the firſt of them was true.

But if this Man was a Member of our Church, he was much fitter to have been of another. For he followed his Guides with *blind Obedience*, and ſuffered them to impoſe upon him what they pleas'd for the Doctrine of the Church. And if they will acquit themſelves from that Character which our Saviour laid upon the *Phariſees*, of being *blind Leaders of the Blind*, it lies upon them to ſhew what Doctrine there is in our Church by which they can juſtify ſuch a Crime. I ſpeak of them who direct or embolden Men to dye in ſo deſperate a manner, confeſſing the Fact, but denying the Guilt, of being engaged in an Aſſaſſination. Let them conſider the Queſtions that were put to this Man by Mr. Sheriff, and tell us plainly where the Doctrine of the Church of *England* allows of the Aſſaſſination of our King, or indeed, of any Perſon. In which of the Articles or Homilies, or Councils received by this Church, is this allowance to be found? The ſecond part of the Homily againſt wilful Rebellion teaches us, That *Chriſt hath given to us, his Chriſtians and Servants, an eternal Example to teach us to obey Princes, tho ſtrangers, wicked, and wrongful.* This is plainly the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. But where is the aſſaſſinating Doctrine to be found? Eſpecially in the Caſe of our Rightful and Lawful Sovereign, who fill'd the Throne after the late King had attempted the ſhaking of the Foundations on which it ſtood, and then deſerted it, and joyn'd himſelf to the Intereſts of the Common Enemy.

If a few angry discontented Men will separate from all others, and call themselves the Church of *England*, and their Notions the Doctrine of it, who can help it?

But it is to be hoped, that all sober Christians, who desire to be rightly guided, will be advised by their proper and lawful Pastors; and not trust themselves to be directed, especially in their Preparations for another World, by that sort of Men, who have shewn us by some late Examples, either how little they understand their Sacred Office, or to what unjustifiable purposes they are capable of abusing it.

FINIS.

BOOKS *Sold by* Robert Clavel *at the* Peacock *at the West-End of St.* Pauls.

A Discourse on the *Offices* for the Fifth of *November*, the Thirtieth of *January*, and the Twenty Nineth of *May*. By *Thomas Comber*, D.D. Dean of *Durham*.

A second Admonition to the *Dissenting Ministers* of the Diocess of *Derry*, concerning Mr. *Boyse*'s Vindication of his Remarks on a Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of GOD; with an Appendix containing an Answer to Mr. *Boyse*'s Objections against the Sign of the Cross.

Historical Account of the Heresie denying the Godhead of Christ.

Ex A.G.P.
11/26/00